

Evaluation Report

10 years ZFD programme in Rwanda



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List of Abbreviations

| | |
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| BMZ | German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| CCD | Geneva - Centre on Conflict, Development and peace-building |
| CNLG | Commission for the Fight Against Genocide |
| DDR | Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of Congo |
| FJG | Forum des Jeunes Giramahoro |
| KYC | Kigali Youth Center |
| MJK | Maison des Jeunes de Kimisagara / Kigali Youth Center |
| NAR | Never Again Rwanda |
| NGO | Non-Governmental organisation |
| OECD-DAC | Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development- Development Assistant Committee |
| PGM | Professional Group Meeting |
| PWL | Peace Writ Large |
| RPP | Reflecting On Peace Practice |
| SSR | Security Sector Reform |
| VJN | Vision Jeunesse Nouvelle |
| VoA | Voice of America |
| ZFD | (Konsortium) Ziviler Friedensdienst / Civil Peace Service (CPS) |

Executive Summary

The ZFD was established in 1999 as a new instrument for development aid in the realm of conflict resolution and peace-building. From its establishment until 2009, about 583 technical assistants have been sent to 50 countries. The ZFD Rwanda has been operating since 2001 pursuing its objective of fostering reconciliation and peace in the Great Lakes Region. Against the backdrop of the organisations' 10th anniversary, the ZFD Rwanda decided to evaluate its programme in order to assess the efficiency and sustainability of its strategies.

The present evaluation should be considered as part of a learning process rather than a final assessment of the situation, since this evaluation was subject to time constraints and methodological challenges.

Results

According to the interviewees, the ZFD is a very useful instrument of conflict transformation in Rwanda and a relevant actor in the field of peace-building activities.

Thus, the ZFD targets first and foremost the individual attitude and behaviour of local people by the means of peace media, peace education and the promotion of critical thinking and spaces of dialogue. In this regard the ZFD is very efficient.

The training of intermediaries is a strong mechanism of the ZFD programme, which allows for greater peace-building capacity among the ZFDs partner organisations. Thus, the capacities for peace-building have been sustainably developed within the partner organisations. Shortcomings exist, however, at the level of structural and institutional capacities.

The deployment of technical assistants is a very strong aspect of ZFD intervention and allows not only for an external perspective on the conflict situation, but enables a trustful relationship between partners as well as promoting projects and transferring knowledge.

Regarding the efficiency of the ZFD programme on a wider national and regional level it is difficult to make clear distinctions between “efficient” and “non-efficient” as there is an absence of relevant indicators for peace and reconciliation and because of the limited scope of this evaluation. Hence, we are confronted with an allocation gap on this level and cannot draw final conclusions as to how far individual projects finally “add up” to peace.

*Introduction*¹

The ZFD was established in 1999 as a new instrument for development cooperation by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (*BMZ*). Among its primary aims were, on the one hand, to respond to the changing nature of contemporary conflicts and the mixed successes of post-conflict interventions and, on the other hand, to target reconstruction on the societal level.² Its main tool is the deployment of technical assistants through partner organisations to provide advice and training in conflict resolution. Thus, the main objectives of the ZFD are to foster reconciliation as well as encourage trust and dialogue between parties to the conflict. Furthermore, the ZFD aims at reintegrating and rehabilitating victims of mass violence.³

Regarding its objectives and activities, the ZFD is in alignment with the concept of conflict transformation which gained prominence in the 90s as a result of the shift from symmetric to asymmetric conflicts and the emergence of so-called protracted conflicts, which were often related to ethnicity and/or identity.⁴ Thus, within the concept of conflict transformation the societal and political level play an important role, not to *end* violent conflicts but to *transform* them into non-violent forms of (conflict) resolution. The starting point for this approach is civil society as it is believed that a peaceful transformation of conflicts lies within society and can be fostered by so-called “peace-constituencies”.⁵ Nevertheless, all levels should be targeted in a post-conflict situation including the political level, the middle-range and the grass-roots level.⁶

As the ZFD adheres to the approach (outlined above), it cooperates mainly with civil society based organisations to foster local capacity for peace and conflict resolution.⁷ By networking these organisations the ZFD aims to build local peace constituencies that in turn will have an impact on society more widely. With regard to impact, fostering peace and reconciliation—which, as understood by the ZFD, are terms that refer to a positive understanding of peace and go beyond cohabitation—is not the only objective, but also to change attitudes, behaviour, structures and processes.⁸ As the ZFD “works on conflict”, its intervention targets different stages of conflict such as acute conflict, prevention and post-conflict situations that, in practice, often overlap.⁹

There are several differences between peace-building evaluation and evaluations conducted in the context of more general development programmes.¹⁰ First of all,

¹ I would like to thank Susanne Buckley-Zistel for her support and advice, before and during, the evaluation as well as for her helpful comments on earlier drafts of this report. I also have to thank Dorotheé Lepperhoff who assisted me during the evaluation. Without her, the evaluation would not have been possible to the extent of the detail presented here. Last but not least, I would like to thank the ZFD staff in Rwanda for their patience and support as well as all the interviewees for sharing their thoughts with us.

² BMZ Rahmenkonzept: 1999, 2.

³ BMZ Rahmenkonzept 1999,2; ZFD Standards 2008, 3.

⁴ See Miall 2003, 2004; Smith 2004, Kriesberg 2011.

⁵ Ropers 2000.

⁶ Lederach 1998.

⁷ ZFD Standards.

⁸ ZFD Standards 2008 in alignment with the OECD/DAC guidelines for peace-building interventions.

⁹ See further Glasl 2004.

¹⁰ See for further discussion Scharbatke-Church 2011.

peace-building evaluations differ in context, content and process from the more general evaluations due to the more complex and challenging settings. In peace-building evaluations, the process has to be allocated to the evaluation criteria, which are standardized by the OECD-DAC guidelines for peace-building evaluations. Moreover, the difference in content refers to conflict analyses. Those can be part of the evaluation task itself or related to the accuracy standards of an evaluation process and are not part of more general evaluations. Peace-building evaluations are conducted in specific contexts, including: data which is often difficult to access, interviewees who are hard to locate and interview, and the sensitive and personal content of interviews, particularly regarding the experienced violence or torture.

The objective of the evaluation was to analyse the ZFD programme in Rwanda over a period of three weeks in August 2011. The 10th anniversary of the programme provided a good opportunity to take stock of achievements and reflect on any challenges remaining. As formulated in the ToR, the evaluation covers an impact and sustainability analysis with the following guiding questions:

- i. Brief overview of the ZFD history, its changes and developments.
- ii. Analysis of past changes and developments, as well as future recommendations for programme design, by providing answers to the following questions:
- iii. Were previous changes and developments useful in enhancing work on conflicts in Rwanda?
- iv. Has capacity been developed in Partner Organisations in general, and has it been guided by the main programme objectives?
- v. Does the current programme sufficiently address major conflicts?
- vi. To what extent does the programme contribute to reconciliation in Rwanda?

This report will respond to these questions against the backdrop of the ZFDs logic of intervention, and the Reflecting on Peace Practice Matrix (RPP), so that the results and recommendations can be put in the wider context of peace-building programme planning tools. The first part comprises a discussion of the methodology followed by a brief overview of the ZFD's history in the country. Next, we focus on the ZFD as instrument of German development cooperation and illustrate the achievements regarding capacity building within the Rwandan partner organisations. In the second part, findings according to the ZFD logics of intervention and the RPP Matrix are discussed and first recommendations are developed. In the conclusion, the report offers some general recommendations on the basis of the findings of the evaluation.

Methodology

Evaluations are steps in a continuous learning process rather than a final judgement about a situation. This occurs on multiple levels, including, but not limited to, team and institutional development, for example.¹¹ In general, an evaluation should, therefore, rely on certain standards such as feasibility, accuracy and sensitivity to context.¹² Hence, it is necessary to elaborate the challenges to this evaluation, especially with regard to its feasibility. This allows for a more accurate classification of its findings and recommendations in a wider context of lessons learned.

Feasibility

The present evaluation aims at analyzing 10 years of ZFD programme which included numerous projects and partner organisations. Over this period, there have been significant changes regarding ZFD staff so that the institutional memory is rather sketchy and former staff members were difficult to trace. Interviews have been conducted with some former ZFD coordinators and technical assistants.¹³

Accuracy

The accuracy standard intends to assure that an evaluation will reveal and convey technically adequate information and data. Meeting accuracy standards, especially in the field of peace-building, poses a challenge to evaluation tasks, as peace-building is related to change in complex and various ways, which are always difficult to measure.¹⁴ This is reinforced by often missing regular monitoring procedures, which depict the state of a situation prior to an intervention. Thus, to trace back change in a given environment such as post-conflict contexts, an evaluation best relies on a baseline assessment in order to enable comparisons between before and after. If these are missing, as in the present context, it is difficult to trace changes, especially on the level of the wider society, or with regard to peace-building terms, on peace and reconciliation. Regarding this evaluation, it was further complicated by the lack of indicators for peace and reconciliation as on the one hand, those terms were not further defined in internal ZFD documents, and, on the other hand, indicators for success (impact) were missing for the wider societal level.

¹¹ See further Scharbatke-Church 2011.

¹² See further American Evaluation Association: <http://www.eval.org/evaluationdocuments/progeval.html>

¹³ See also the section *peace-building intervention logic and planning tools* in this chapter.

¹⁴ Besides peace-building efforts and their impact cannot be seen in a linear way which makes data collection even more difficult to give accurate information for the evaluator.

Sensitivity to the Context ("Do No Harm")

Recently there has been a discussion about conflict sensitive evaluations which is very important in the context of a volatile (post-) conflict environment. In particular, this concerns evaluations that generate data from interviews with traumatized persons. This was an issue for the team on this evaluation, in particular, during one focus group discussion with female survivors who gave birth to children as a result of rape. Even though the interviewees could personally trace back exactly what changes had taken place before and after the project, questions relating to reconciliation and peace could not be asked due to the risk of re-traumatisation from the questioning.¹⁵ Furthermore, it was necessary to adapt the questions during the interview as they could not be asked directly.¹⁶ In this regard, it is very helpful to have a translator who is empathetic enough to understand such emotional difficulties on behalf of the interviewees. Furthermore, all interviews required a degree of contextual sensitivity due to the challenge presented by discussing ethnic categories directly which is an extremely sensitive issue in the Rwandan context. Nevertheless, for conflict analysis it is very important to gather information about any possible ethnic dimension to a conflict and to assess the degree to which the ZFD addresses this dimension. Thus, it was essential to create an environment of trust for the interviews and to ensure the anonymity of the interviewees.

Data Validity

To guarantee data validity, we chose to develop standardized questionnaires which combined OECD-DAC guidelines with the methodology applied in the evaluation conducted by the Geneva Centre on Conflict, Development and Peace-building (CCD) and the ToR. The questionnaires were further adapted for the specific stakeholder interviews.¹⁷ Thus, we asked different questions to intermediaries (11 persons from two different projects), beneficiaries (13 persons from two different projects), partner organisations (10 representatives), ZFD staff (5 staff members) and former ZFD staff (4 persons). Combined with the internal documents and project material this allows for a triangulation of data, which generates a higher degree of validity.

The intervention logic in peace-building and planning tools

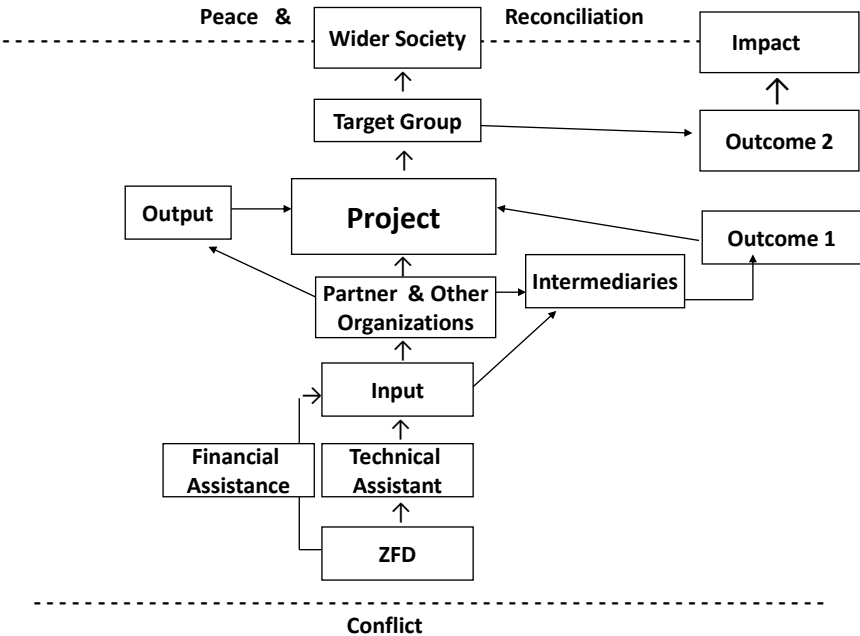
¹⁵ As one objective of the project was to evaluate the impact on reconciliation, this question was part of the questionnaire.

¹⁶ In general there should be a reflection on culture sensitive aspects during evaluations as well. Communication strategies and forms differ in many aspects which is important to know when asking people questions, that might be too complicated, too straight forward or too sensitive. Moreover, answers must also be analysed in the context of a given communication culture as sometimes people mean something different than they actually say or they paraphrase issues the interviewer can only understand when having the knowledge of the given context.

¹⁷ The questionnaires are provided in the annex.

As starting point for understanding the wider context of the evaluation and in order to provide a coherent classification of the information gathered, we developed a diagram of the ZFD logic of intervention, which can be seen as one of the results of the evaluation. This diagram is combined with the Reflecting on Peace Practice Matrix (*RPP Matrix*) below, which is used as a tool in peace-building practices. It therefore allows a systematic insight into current peace-building project planning tools. For our purpose, it also provides a better understanding of desired outcomes and impacts on different levels. Moreover, combined with the ZFD logic of intervention, it helps to illustrate and to structure the data gathered during the evaluation.¹⁸

Table 1: ZFD intervention logic (in Rwanda)¹⁹



Source: author

The primary objective of the ZFD as formulated in its 2008 document on standards is best captured in the context of “peace writ large” (*PWL*) which offers a wider understanding of peace beyond the immediate context of a project or programme. Therefore, it is related to peace and reconciliation on a higher level. In this regard, the overall objective is to have an impact on reconciliation and a sustainable and just peace. As suggested by the Reflecting on Peace Practice Project (*RPP*), the most suitable way of addressing “peace writ large” is with a combination of the so-called

¹⁸ The RPP-Matrix has only been introduced as planning tool recently on behalf of the ZFD Rwanda. Former projects do not follow this project planning approach.

¹⁹ This diagram is related to the Rwandan context and can only be applied to other ZFD interventions with restriction.

'key people approach'²⁰ with a 'more people approach', while the effectiveness of the programmes impact will vary.²¹ The ZFD combines these two approaches in its intervention strategy by targeting the key people group through the training of intermediaries who then translate their knowledge directly into certain projects conducted by the partner organisations. Thus, more people are reached if and when outreach is given. In the logic of the ZFD intervention strategy, this in turn leads to peace and reconciliation on a higher level ("peace writ large"). The intermediaries are an important tool within the ZFD interventions as they are trained in methods of conflict resolution and/or human rights or peace education. These intermediaries are usually drawn from partner organisations, albeit not necessarily staff members. Often, they volunteer for little money to take part in those activities.

There are several levels in the specific context of a project and the objective of PWL which can be described as individual/personal and socio/political level. The individual level aims at changing attitudes and behaviour whereas the socio-political level targets the transformation of institutions and structures.

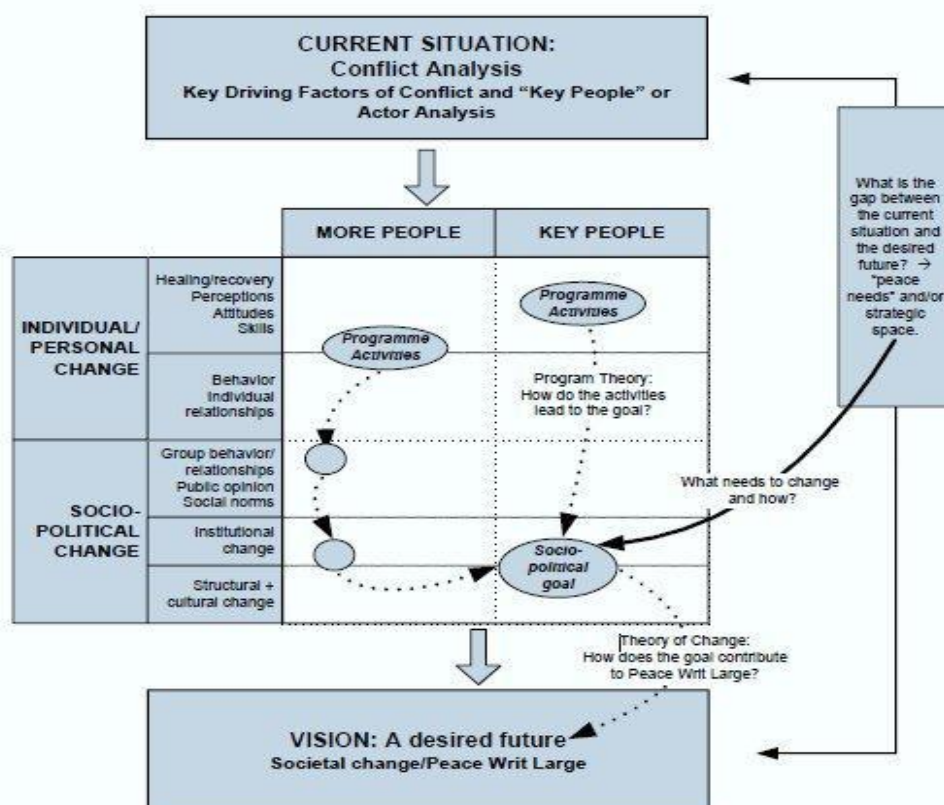
In the context of the ZFD logic of intervention, the 'key people approach' aims at changes on the individual level. First, intermediaries are trained in conflict resolution and peace education, e.g. the relationship with other ethnic groups, as well as raising awareness of prevailing societal problems such as gender based violence or discrimination. Within the individual level as shown in the graph below, the beneficiaries of certain projects cross the line between the individual level and the socio-political level because, on the one hand, ZFD projects are designed to target individual behaviour and relationships and, on the other hand, they aim at public opinion and/or group behaviour (e.g. through the project Radio Heza).

Apart from these interventions on different levels, the ZFD strategy can be further divided according to the different outcomes desired: the level of intermediaries, and the level of beneficiaries. This is illustrated by the ZFDs logic of intervention. Moreover, a distinction between these two outcomes and the overall impact can be drawn as both, outcome one and outcome two are translated into the wider context which has been described above as PWL. The first outcome, as shown in the diagram above, is related to the intermediaries and their capacity to translate the acquired knowledge in a sustainable manner into the development of concrete projects which are conducted by the partner organisations. Thus, it can be assumed that this also has a spill-over effect on the capacity (for peace) of the partner organisations. The second outcome refers to the immediate context of a given project and affects the target group or beneficiaries, among whom changes should ideally occur. Separating these areas of outcome for analytical purposes enables a more nuanced view on the question how project and programme "add up" to peace and enables light to be shed on the multitude of small steps that "add up" to PWL.

²⁰ Who is "key" depends on the context, but it is believed that these persons are critical in order to impact on PWL. When applying the more people approach practitioners believe that only by involving "the people" peace can be reached. See further <http://www.cdainc.com/rpp/docs/ReflectingOnPeacePracticeHandbook.pdf>.

²¹RPP Handbook, <http://www.cdainc.com/rpp/docs/ReflectingOnPeacePracticeHandbook.pdf>.

Table 2: RPP-Matrix



Source: Collaborative Learning Project: Reflecting on Peace Practice 2009.

Selection of evaluated areas of intervention

Due to practical limitations on the evaluation we could not consider all projects or project partners the ZFD has worked with over the past 10 years. We therefore decided to evaluate three areas of engagement, including: (1) training in methods of conflict resolution, (2) peace media, and (3) trauma work. These areas are related to different project partners, including Ibuka, Never Again Rwanda (NAR), Vision Jeunesse Nouvelle (VJN) and Forum des Jeunes Giramahoro (FJG) (for a detailed description of the organisations please refer to the section capacity building within partner organisations).

A number of considerations were important for our choice. First, we were interested in an organisation with a long history of engagement. The ZFD has been working with FJG at the Kigali Youth Center in Kimisagara²² for 10 years and Radio Heza has been broadcasting since 2008. This allowed for a collective evaluation of the cooperation. Second, we wanted to consider the impact on PWL. Since Radio Heza links the 'key and more people approach' in a sophisticated way, it therefore seemed to be a suitable candidate. Next, we chose the trauma counselling projects since they

²² The Kigali Youth Center, located in Kimisagara, forms the physical infrastructure of Forum des Jeunes Giramahoro (FJG) which is the umbrella non-governmental organisation of the youth sector. Members of FJG implement their projects at the Center, see for details part "youth and methods of conflict resolution", p.18. In the following we mostly refer to MJK as the technical assistant is based at the center. We also use the French term of Maison des Jeunes (MJK) instead of Kigali Youth Center (KYC).

were concluded three years ago. This allowed us to examine whether the projects were effective over the longer term and to assess if trauma work should be a consideration for further ZFD interventions. Thus, we combined a sustainability analysis with a needs assessment. Lastly, VJN was chosen since the ZFD technical assistant commenced work in the partner organisation only two years ago, providing insights into mid-term developments (formative evaluation). VJN was also of interest as it addresses the cross-border dimension (as does MJK) which is central to the ZFD intervention strategy. In order to expand our general picture, we also talked to other partners such as Never Again Rwanda²³ and considered further projects or co-operations where we had access to information or interviewees.

The History of the ZFD and its development over the last 10 years

The ZFD has been working in Rwanda since 2001. It was established on the basis of prior considerations in terms of a strategic concept (1998-1999) by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) in which Rwanda was selected as a pilot country for engagement, but without clarifying which sectors should be targeted.²⁴ At that time, the concept of civil conflict transformation was relatively new in programmes conducted by the German development cooperation, so it was necessary, at first, to distinguish between conventional development cooperation and peace work. This included, inter alia, determining whether psychosocial trauma work is, or should be, part of civil conflict transformation, and how the ZFD could position itself in the field of peace work. Following a country study in Rwanda, the ZFD decided to develop several criteria of engagement and loosely developed indicators for intervention (see table below):

Table 3: Overview key concept of engagement in 2000

| | |
|------------|--|
| Indicators | Working on trauma and building state structures as part of conflict prevention |
| Criteria | The ZFD must impact society more widely and work beyond basic services |
| Demand | to induce change on a societal and a political level |

Based on the above criteria and indicators, the ZFD set up several measures to target victims of the genocide and to support state structures. The ZFD regarded the goal of overcoming the material and psychosocial legacies of the genocide as its main task, and so decided to work almost exclusively with state institutions such as, for e.g., the National Human Rights Commission and the National Youth Council. In the field of trauma, the ZFD worked together with a civil society based organisation called Kanyarwanda and, in addition, they supported the human rights umbrella organisation Cladho. This civil society based organisation monitored and

²³ Never Again Rwanda was not further evaluated with regard of projects activities as the technical assistant arrived only in may 2011.

²⁴ This information is drawn from an interview with a former ZFD staff member.

documented the *Gacaca* trials as well as trained survivors to participate in *Gacaca* in a sensitive and reasonable way.

In 2004, the ZFD changed its engagement strategy to include peace education, human rights education and methods of conflict resolution, though trauma work still played an important role in the programme. In the field of peace education, the ZFD cooperated with the National Museum of Ancient History in Nyanza through several projects like “art for peace”, “musee mobile” and various workshops. The objective of this cooperation was to combine methods of civil conflict transformation with cultural aspects in order to foster the awareness of culturally embedded mechanisms of conflict resolution.

The field of human rights education has become more and more important over the years, particularly following an increase in human rights abuses since 2006. Measures in this field concentrated especially on the Rwandan youth, where human rights education was seen as an essential part of promoting democracy and good governance. The underlying idea was, and still is, to educate the youth in critical thinking and to foster a sense of citizenship among them. It is assumed by national and international actors alike that the manipulation of youth before and during the genocide led to their participation in the killings. Therefore, human rights education is seen as essential part of the promotion of democracy. To further pursue this objective, ZFD launched several smaller projects in collaboration with secondary schools.

Moreover, the ZFD conducted a project with a strong focus on human rights education and conflict transformation at Maison des Jeunes (MJK). Already in 1999, as result of the conference of Kigali,²⁵ the decision was taken to build a centre for conflict resolution to be located at Kimisagara.²⁶ The German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ) funded several projects at Kimisagara in the context of its programme for “Youth and Employment Promotion” which were conducted in cooperation with ZFD. Projects were planned on a cross-border basis and not only integrated education and training, but also culture and sport, to promote peaceful ways for conflict resolution and youth participation. Thus, the ZFD started its collaboration with Maison des Jeunes at Kimisagara in 2001.

One of the most important projects conducted at MJK is Radio Heza. Among ZFD staff this is seen as the most successful project because of its societal and cross-border outreach. The project Radio Heza educates and trains selected persons in journalism. The training focuses on youth empowerment, the participation of youth in peace building and decision making processes. Moreover, it broadcasts weekly shows that are related to human rights education and address pressing societal problems such as, for e.g., gender based violence. Since 2010, Radio Heza has

²⁵ Several leading international stakeholders (like e.g. the former GTZ) and governmental actors (like the Ministry for Youth, Education and Culture) took part in the conference. As formulated in the “declaration of Kigali”, the conference decided strengthening youth in the political decision making process and their active involvement in peace-building, conflict resolution and in the prevention of genocide.

²⁶ One recommendation of this conference, that aimed at discussing effective strategies for youth empowerment in the Great Lakes Region, was to establish a youth center for conflict resolution and peace-building as a pilot project in the region. Therefore the National Youth Council was requested to build up such a center in cooperation with international donors, such as the German GTZ.

started cooperating with Burundian journalists and its radio shows have been broadcasted in Burundi since 2011.

As of 2006/7, the ZFD has changed its cooperation strategy from working mainly with governmental actors to cooperation with civil society organisations.²⁷ This decision followed from a change in the legislation concerning the whole sector of civil society organisations, as well as the problem of slow working procedures when working with governmental bureaucracies. Furthermore, this shift in strategy was the result of a conflict analysis (in 2007) which revealed potential for peace-building in the civil society sector. Moreover, the ZFD wanted to strengthen its work in the good governance sector which was, and remains, an important focus for German development cooperation in general. The focus of ZFD engagement, as formulated in the new strategy plan, was laid on peace and memorial pedagogy, conflict sensitive commemoration, development and training in methods of conflict resolution, and the rehabilitation of genocide victims (trauma work).^{28 29} In particular, conflict sensitive commemoration as well as memorial pedagogy was a new field of engagement for the ZFD, but one where it already had experience in the context of the 10th Commemoration of the genocide in 2004.

In the new strategy plan, work in the human rights field was discontinued. The ZFD as an instrument of state development cooperation is not allowed to be politically partisan and can therefore not take side for one party in a conflict situation. As Rwandan civil society actors increasingly demanded the ZFD to play an advocacy role, and thus to take sides, the ZFD decided to step back from the direct promotion of human rights.³⁰

A number of the new areas of engagement in the strategy plan mentioned above were not put into practice immediately following its implementation. This was for a number of reasons: the work in the sector of conflict-sensitive commemoration and the support of the newly founded “Commission for the Fight Against Genocide” (CLNG) were considered to be too political and sensitive for the ZFD which needed to maintain its neutrality and independence. Therefore, it was decided to engage only indirectly in the field through partners such as Never Again Rwanda or, more recently, the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre.

Against this backdrop, approaches to conflict resolution, peace pedagogy and the youth sector became more relevant for ZFD engagement, leading to new cooperation with the youth organisation Umuseke³¹ and another civil society organisation specialized on the promotion of (marginalised) youth, Vision Jeunesse Nouvelle (VJN). These partnerships started in 2008 and 2009.³² While Umuseke conducts

²⁷ The collaboration with the National Museum in Huye ended in Summer 2011. Since, the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre has been subordinated to the CNLG in August 2011, it is the only state organisation the ZFD collaborates with.

²⁸ See ZFD strategy plan: 2007, 7f.

²⁹ See, Interviews former ZFD staff.

³⁰ See interview former ZFD staff. Nevertheless, human rights still play an important role in the context of peace education within projects like Radio Heza and Cineduc.

³¹ From November 2008 until March 2011, a technical assistant worked with Umuseke based in the border region of Cyangugu to further trans-border activities of Umuseke. The collaboration ended in March 2011.

³² Although VJN only became an official partner of the ZFD in 2009, the ZFD had already financed smaller projects of VJN since 2006.

cross-border training in the development of school curricula with a special focus on peace education, the projects with VJN work through theatre performances and cross-border (DRC) dialogue (e.g. the peace week), aimed at urban youth in general and marginalized children in particular.

As trauma work remained a focus in the new strategy, the engagement that started in 2004 was continued and targeted female victims of genocide and their children, who are the product of rape. Moreover, during the hearings of the Gacaca trials, psycho-social trauma counselling was expanded in collaboration with the survivors' umbrella organisation Ibuka, funded by German donors GTZ and later by Zivik³³. This was also due to the new strategic focus on rehabilitation and the openness of Ibuka to collaborate officially with an external partner such as the ZFD.³⁴ However, the collaboration with Ibuka was discontinued in 2008 when the contract of the technical assistant expired. Since the end of 2011, Ibuka has a new technical assistant who is involved in methods of conflict resolution in order to combine the latter with trauma work.

Since 2010, the ZFD has tried to develop a more coherent approach with the aim of fostering a closer relationship between its partners. Thus, several projects are planned that will be conducted in joint cooperation with its partners. As in previous years, training in methods of conflict resolution will be strengthened and initiatives in peace media further expanded. Thus, training more journalists and deepening peace media initiatives across the borders (with special focus on Burundi and DRC) is planned. Moreover, methods of conflict resolution have now been combined with trauma work and traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution (e.g. local peace experts) while the focus on the youth sector has been maintained, e.g. through working with the new partner organisation Never Again Rwanda (2011), a civil society organisation that works with youth in the field of commemoration, promotion of human rights and conflict resolution.

In addition, smaller projects have been implemented to address the issue of conflict sensitive commemoration. In this context, the ZFD (in cooperation with Ibuka and Avega) is launching a project concerned with the documentation of "les justes"—persons (Hutu) who saved Tutsi during the genocide — which will comprise rescuer's testimonies and aims at identifying these people all over the country. To reach its objectives, the ZFD cooperates with the Kigali Memorial Centre which will show the results of this pilot study in their permanent exhibition. The new partner Never Again Rwanda is also involved in activities regarding second generation commemoration, expanding ZFD's activities in this field.

³³ Zivik (Civil Conflict Resolution) is part of the Institute of Foreign Cultural Relations. Zivik is an intermediary between state and non-state actors and is funded by the German Foreign Office. It promotes documents and evaluates projects in crisis regions all over the world. See further <http://www.ifa.de/en/foerderprogramme/zivik/about-zivik/>

³⁴ See Interview former ZFD staff. Before 2007 IBUKA did not involve in the projects that were implemented by ZFD and Kanyarwanda as the representation of victims' interests was seen as originally task of Ibuka itself.

Lastly, the new strategy endeavours to build relationships of trust between governmental institutions and civil society organisation. This objective will be extended through planned projects in methods of conflict resolution in cooperation with the so called Abunzi³⁵ (mediation committees).

*Looking at the history of the ZFD in Rwanda it is apparent that some aspects have been more constant than others. Working with youth has been a priority for some time, while working in the field of trauma has been erratic. **In order to guarantee impact as well as sustainability, it is important to work continuously in a sector, since effecting social change, in particular, is a long-term process. It is therefore recommended that the ZFD sticks to its new strategy and guarantees that the projects are being carried out in accordance with a long-term commitment.***

³⁵ The Abunzi are the successors of the Gacaca trials. They were installed in order to mediate on smaller conflicts on the community level in 2006. See for further information chapter conflict analysis.

PART I: The ZFD as instrument of German Development Cooperation

Capacity Building within Partner organisations

Since the ZFD has shifted from governmental to civil society organisations it has, by and large, worked with the same partners for several years. The partners were chosen for strategic and pragmatic reasons. As explained by an interviewee, the ZFD already had contact with the organisations and had been working with them in various different contexts. While it is understandable that organisations familiar to the ZFD were considered, it would have been important to map the landscape of other actors as well in order to understand their role in the delicate social and political environment, so as to strategically assess if they are best placed to further the ZFD's objectives. On a positive note, the ZFD has convinced some of the political key players to undertake a cooperate relationship, testifying to its good reputation amongst Rwandan NGOs. These include, Ibuka, Never Again Rwanda, Vision Jeunesse Nouvelle, Forum des Jeunes Giramahoro, Maison des Jeunes at Kimisagara (as the centre, where activities are carried out) and Avega, i.e. organisations that are important players in the Rwandan civil society sector. In the following, we briefly present the partners in relation to the fields of activities and target groups of the ZFD.

Youth and methods of conflict resolution

As mentioned above, youth have been a significant focus of engagement since 1999 when it was decided to reconstruct the youth centre at Kimisagara. Rwandan youth were an important actor in the execution of the genocide and are now regarded as a potential driver of change, since it is assumed that the second generation has a more distant relationship to the massacres compared to those who experienced the genocide first hand. Furthermore, as related by an interviewee, it is assumed to be easier to reach the hearts and minds of the youth since they have not yet consolidated their worldview. Vision Jeunesse Nouvelle and Forum des Jeunes Giramahoro are two of the most important organisations in this sector.

Vision Jeunesse Nouvelle was founded in 2002 by a Canadian and a Rwandan priest; it is based in the town of Gisenyi close to the border of the DRC. Since the beginning, combating HIV/Aids has been the major focus, but recently programmes also address illiteracy and delinquency. The Furthermore, it aims at furthering a critical understanding of citizenship among youth.³⁶ VJN's work focuses on marginalized youth such as street children and orphans, with a strong emphasis on the rural population (in the district of Rubavu). Moreover, the VJN works in the field of peace media using tools such as theatre and cinema education (CINEDUC)³⁷ combined with methods of conflict resolution. According to their vision, the VJN trains

³⁶ See further http://visionjeunesse-rwanda.org/?About_V.J.N.

³⁷ CINEDUC is an innovative educational tool which combines cinema with participative methods to facilitate information about development issues. The tool was developed in 2004 by ZFD and its partners.

youth in peace media, as it is believed that the activities of “peer educators” are most effective and sustainable.³⁸ Accordingly, the programme for radio broadcasts is written by young members of the VJN. The collaboration with the VJN began in 2005 with several smaller projects. In 2009, the first technical assistant was sent to the organisation in order to establish and strengthen the organisation’s efforts in conflict resolution and peace-building. This objective is closely connected to the ZFD objective to achieve cross-border outreach, since the VJN cooperates with Congolese civil society organisations in this field.

The youth centre at Kimisagara is only the physical infrastructure of the umbrella association Forum des Jeunes Giramahoro (FJG). The Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture allowed entitled the FJG to manage the centre and its member organisations between 2004 and 2011. Since 2011, the FJG has responsibility in the the areas of sport, culture and approaches to conflict resolution. Activities in these areas are carried out by the member organisations and are mostly implemented at Kimisagara (Maison des Jeunes de Kimisagara).³⁹ The youth centre has been created as result of the declaration of Kigali in November 1999. One recommendation from the conference, which aimed at discussing effective strategies for youth empowerment in the Great Lakes Region, was to establish a youth centre for conflict resolution and peace-building as a pilot project in the region. Therefore, the National Youth Council was requested to develop such a centre in cooperation with international aid donors such as the German GTZ.⁴⁰ The MJK has a strong regional focus and, for instance, it cooperates with Burundian journalists in the field of peace media. Radio Heza is one of the most successful projects conducted at the youth centre, producing weekly broadcasts since 2008. The programming addresses societal issues as drug abuse, alcoholism, gender based violence, and so on. Since 2010, joint programme planning with Burundian journalists began and from early 2011 programmes have also been broadcast in Burundi. Like the VJN, the MJK also trains youth in journalism and peace media. The programme is exclusively produced by young journalists from the MJK. The radio is one of the strongest fields of activities for the MJK, but also the educational cinema and football for peace has become more relevant in recent years. The ZFD has been active at Kimisagara since 2001. In 2005, technical assistant supported the establishment of Radio Heza as tool of peace media and youth empowerment. In 2009, the technical assistant changed. As the Heza project has been completely transferred to local journalists, the task of the new technical assistant lies in the support of the professionalization of the conflict resolution tools established at the MJK and in the enhancement of the cross-border network.

One of the newest ZFD partners is Never Again Rwanda (NAR), a non-governmental human rights and peace building organisation, which was founded by university students in 2002-03. Its activities in peace-building concentrate on commemoration with a special focus on youth. Foremost, NAR uses debates between young people as a method in their projects.⁴¹ Since May 2011, a technical assistant works at NAR to consult on the development of a peace-building programme. Previously, NAR had been a strategic partner of the ZFD and the organisations have cooperated on projects since the 10th Commemoration of the genocide in 2004.

³⁸ See Booklet (2011): Civil Peace Service in the Great Lakes Region – Achievements and Challenges, 68-72.

³⁹ To simplify in the following we will use MJK as reference to the different organisations.

⁴⁰ For further information see also history of ZFD engagement.

⁴¹ See further <http://www.neveragainrwanda.org/?cat=3>

Trauma and the rehabilitation of genocide survivors

The ZFD is currently working with two major survivors' organisations in Rwanda. First, it is in the early stages of working with Avega, a widows' association founded in 1995 to support women affected by the genocide.⁴² The objective of the cooperation is to strengthen the capacity for peace education and cross-border dialogue through the partner. Moreover, strengthening dialogue structures between so-called 'truly confessing perpetrators' and survivors is also envisaged. An agreement to provide a technical assistance to Avega has been reached in the last 12 months, however, Avega is still waiting for a ZFD technical assistant to start working in its regional office in Cyangugu/Kamembe. Due to perceived difficulties regarding working in a rural area, the ZFD has not yet been able to find a suitable candidate.

Second, the ZFD has been collaborating with Ibuka, the umbrella organisation of fifteen smaller survivors' organisations to which Avega belongs. Ibuka focuses on trauma work, memory and the prevention of genocide.⁴³ ZFD and Ibuka cooperated in a trauma counselling project in the course of the Gacaca courts and the ZFD trained trauma consultants and assistants. After the German trauma expert departed in 2008, Ibuka continued to play a role in the ZFD programme as strategic partner⁴⁴, even though no ZFD staff worked directly with the organisation. The focus of the cooperation has shifted and a technical assistant arrived in October 2011 to consult with the organisation on methods of conflict resolution in its regional office in the southern province of Huye.

Networking within the programme

According to the new ZFD strategy, greater support is envisaged for networking amongst partner organisations and to better connect its various fields of engagement. In this context, it is planned that Ibuka, Avega, and the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre cooperate in a project related to the documentation of "les justes". Furthermore, it is planned to combine trauma counselling and methods of conflicts resolution in order to strengthen the cooperation between youth organisations and survivor's organisations. In the area of tools for conflict resolution, the exchange of experiences between FJG, VJN and NAR has been quite strong. Projects have been implemented together and the organisations offer each other capacity building.

⁴² See further <http://avegaagahozo.org/about-us>

⁴³ See further <http://www.ibuka.rw/>

⁴⁴ Strategic partners are those the ZFD works with, but no assistant is sent into.

Results

Following the ToR, in the following we will draw on the results revealed by the interviews with representatives of the selected partner organisations, internal documents and interviews with current and former ZFD staff in order to evaluate the impact of capacity building in the partner organisations. The box below shows questions which we asked representatives of partners organisations related to capacity building.

Box 1: Questionnaire: Capacity Building within Partner organisations

1. Please describe first of all the work with CPS/ZFD from your perspective.
2. How did the work with the CPS/ZFD start? Did you request working with the CPS?
3. Why did your organisation decide to work with the CPS/ZFD and why in this specific sector?
4. Have any changes occurred in your organisation that you would attribute to the work with CPS/ZFD?
5. What changes in your organisation are specifically related to the work of CPS/ZFD from your perspective?
6. How would you describe the impact the CPS/ZFD work has/had in your organisation?
7. How could the impact be reinforced and what conditions are necessary therefore?
8. What are the most successful experiences made and what difficulties did you face while working with the CPS/ZFD?

Several challenges were encountered in answering how far the ZFD has developed specific capacities. In ZFD documents, it is not explicitly stated what their understanding of capacity building implies. On the one hand, capacity building seemingly relates to building capacities for peace and on the other, to supporting the development of sustainable structures within the partner organisations. On the ground, capacity building is often comprised of the support of administrative processes like budget and project planning as well as support in the implementation of projects. The need for capacity building in the partner organisations varies and is difficult to measure before the start of the cooperation. Thus, the task of capacity building develops “on the job”. Given these difficulties, it is not always clear what the indicators for success could be for the objective of capacity building as clearly defined overall objectives are missing. As we cannot consider all partners evaluated in detail, we will summarize the findings and give selected examples of the data.

Building up structures

Our interviews revealed that the overall capacity building within the partner organisations remains a challenge regarding structural changes. As some interviewees stated, the ZFD has so far not been able to assist in strengthening sustainable structures within the partner organisations. It was also pointed out, however, that there has been a change in the ZFD's previous approach of not focusing on fostering structural capacities to increasing efforts in this regard. Against this backdrop, one must consider that the ZFD has, to a certain degree, to rely on existing structural capacities in order to strengthen those. It is beyond the ZFD's remit to develop completely new organisational structures. It was also argued that the success in implementing common projects with the partners often depends on individuals and is not rooted in the organisational structures of the partners. But improvements have been made especially in the field of budget management and project planning on behalf of the partners as is apparent in some of the ZFD documents as well as being mentioned by several interview partners. Through the presence of the ZFD technical assistant, staffs of partner organisations gain knowledge about more efficient project implementation, which in turn influences the activities of the organisation. Moreover, through deploying the instrument 'Professional Group Meeting' (PGM, Fachgruppe), capacity building on the side of the local expert is also strengthened as new strategies, especially in the field of project planning and management, can be discussed and developed.

Due to frequently slow working processes, difficult working environments and time constraints, the knowledge of staff members in the field of project management such as strategy development and monitoring is limited in comparison to the expectations of the donor community. But in this context one can also ask whether, as one interviewee stated, the demands of the donor community actually fail to understand the realities on the ground and in such complex situations monitoring (such as baseline-surveys, regular and advanced monitoring procedures, for example) is necessary to improve results. The trainings of intermediaries and of the local counterparts in the partner organisations can also be seen as part of capacity building. In this regard there has been success. For instance, the ZFD strongly contributed to establishment of self-sustaining structures at MJK since the trained journalists are able to plan and produce the weekly emissions completely by themselves.

Individual Capacity Building

Apart from these shortcomings, the interviewees mostly stated that personally they feel very much supported by the ZFD and its technical assistants in various situations, such as mediating conflicts between staff and between other partners, in planning procedures and implementing projects. One interviewee emphasized that without the ZFD they would not have been able to establish themselves as a relevant civil society organisation. Another interviewee stressed that the ZFD enabled them to conduct more projects than before. Nevertheless, it may prove to be problematic in the future that the relationship of trust between partner organisations and the ZFD is often based on individuals such as the coordinator and/or the technical assistant, rather than on the ZFD itself as an organisation. Where there are staff changes at the

ZFD, the partner organisation and the new technical assistant must build a new relationship of trust. This became obvious in the focus group discussion with the beneficiaries of trauma work as well as in a number of other interviews. Frequently, it was pointed out that the success of the project was due to the engagement of the technical assistant, and the ZFD was not mentioned in this context.

We therefore recommend expanding relationships of trust beyond individual relationships through, for example, the tool of the PGM and/or joint workshops.

Capacities for Peace

As mentioned above, apart from structural factors, capacity building refers to improving skills and knowledge in the field of conflict resolution and other areas, including peace media, human rights education, and so on. The ZFD proves to be able to advance these capacities in a sustainable manner. For instance, with the support of a technical assistant the VJN was able to structurally establish a sector for conflict resolution and is able to plan and to implement projects in this area, such as the peace week or a radio play. Further, due to training and the enhancement of organisational structures undertaken by the ZFD, the MJK is now regarded as reference point for conflict resolution, i.e. as an organisation with expertise in this field. Indicators for this development are requests for service delivery from other donors and youth organisations in Burundi and Uganda.

*To sum up, there are shortcomings concerning structural capacity building, but the ZFD is very strong in building capacities for peace and training methods for conflict resolution. **It is recommended that the partner's knowledge of monitoring tools be strengthened.**⁴⁵ **It is further recommended that the strategy of building capacities for peace and training in methods of conflict resolution be continued.***

⁴⁵ This recommendation is based on the assumption that, though, the demand for extensive monitoring procedures might miss the realities on the ground, the partners should gain knowledge in this field in order to compete with other organisations to get funding by the donor community and to establish themselves as relevant organisation in the community.

The ZFD as peace-building instrument

Though it was not specifically stated in the ToR, we were interested in how far the ZFD has been able to establish itself as relevant actor in the field of peace-building in comparison to donors such as, for e.g., USAID or SIDA. Through these questions we sought to discover what is unique about the ZFD as special instrument of the BMZ in the field of conflict transformation/peace-building. In this regard, we focused on the benefit of sending a technical assistant into organisations. The box below shows questions we asked representatives of ZFD partners related to this field of interest.

Box 2: Questionnaire the ZFD as peace-building instrument⁴⁶

1. How do you and how did you perceive the CPS/ZFD as donor? Has your perception changed over time? (If yes, in how far and why?)
2. In how far is the instrument of sending a CPS/ZFD expert into partner organisation more efficient and relevant than other peace-building instruments applied by additional donors?
3. Are there any further fields of engagement you think working with the CPS/ZFD should be reinforced? (>why)
4. What makes / or is the CPS/ZFD special in the field of peace-building compared to donors?

The ZFD as an instrument of peace-building is very strong in comparison to international organisations such as USAID or SIDA. As stated in several interviews, this is due to a deeper understanding of the context and the situation on the ground and to relationships of trust established by the technical assistants and the partner. One interviewee stated that the technical assistant functions as intermediary to other organisations and that the ZFD, in comparison to donors, actually helps to reach objectives of the partner organisation. Furthermore, it was further explained that the technical assistant supports funding procedures and contributes to the initiation of new projects. On the job training, in particular, was mentioned by interviewees as a significant benefit for the partner organisation's work in the field of peace-building. Additionally, in all interviews it was emphasized that the ZFD enables a space for discussions and allows for the implementation of own ideas. In comparison to donors in the field of peace-building, partner organisations mainly respond to given guidelines for the implementation of projects. This makes the ZFD's strategy of sending technical assistants into the partner organisation highly relevant in the field of peace-building.

⁴⁶ In the interviews, these questions were combined with those related to capacity building. Question 4 was asked in the sector impact on macro and meso level. Though the ZFD is not a donor it was asked this way to simplify the question and therefore to make it understandable for the interviewees. The questions aimed at finding out in how far the sending of a technical assistant is regarded as benefit in the view of the partners and thus also to (hopefully) show that the ZFD has assets compared to donors like USAID, SIDA, DFID etc.

As already mentioned, these aspects contribute significantly in terms of local ownership, which is strongly rooted in ZFD programmes. The ZFD staff and members of partner organisations meet to discuss further strategies and current problems on a regular basis. The ZFD also allows for flexible adaptation to changing needs and contexts, which was frequently raised by interviewees.

Since the strategy of sending technical assistants into the partner organisations proves to be very effective, we strongly recommend continuing with this strategy.

PART II: Results according to the ZFD logic of intervention and the RPP Matrix

Conflict Analysis Rwanda

One of our tasks was to shed light on current conflicts in Rwanda with special regard to changes after the Gacaca trials. Therefore, we asked *all* interviewees who took part in the evaluation for their perception about Gacaca or related mechanisms of dealing with the past. Moreover, we asked about current major conflicts and for the change in conflict settings over the last years. The box below shows questions related to this field of interest.

Box 3: Questions related to conflict analysis (partner organisations)⁴⁷

1. How would you describe the development of past and present conflicts in Rwanda?
2. In how far have conflicts changed over the last 10 years?
3. Did specific events/policies in the field of dealing with the past and/or peace-building initiatives (e.g. the Gacaca-Proceedings) impact on the (mentioned) change of conflicts? What exactly has changed since? How would you describe these changes?
4. From your perspective, what are major conflicts, on which levels, at the present time?
5. What are the driving factors and actors of these conflicts?
6. What are future challenges for conflict transformation/peace-building?
7. Do you know any areas, related to the above mentioned arising or prevailing conflicts that should be targeted explicitly by donors /CPS/ZFD?

In the course of our analysis, the following areas emerged as ongoing challenges. First, the Gacaca courts to prosecute genocide offenders were of interest to us. We therefore frequently asked the interviewees what has changed as a result of Gacaca, and if it serves as point of reference for changes in an assumed conflict environment. The interviewees indicated that through Gacaca a lot of things changed, both positively and negatively. However, Gacaca trials were generally considered to be the right instrument even though the outcomes remain contested. For instance, one interviewee stated that with the help of Gacaca the “truth” was finally revealed, but another interviewee doubted that Gacaca helped to reconcile the Rwandan population. Several interviewees agreed that Gacaca did not work or that it could not transform conflicts that existed before.

⁴⁷ For the focus group discussions we re-framed the questions in order to make those more comprehensive for the young participants. Here, we laid focus on questions on conflicts in their personal surroundings like community and family.

Second, when asked which conflicts they find most relevant today, many interviewees mentioned that trauma still remains one of the biggest challenges for Rwandan society. Given the intensity of violence and the horrific way in which people were humiliated during the genocide, one can speak of a traumatized society. Trauma therefore not only relates to the survivors who experienced the violence first hand, but also to so-called secondary traumatization of the younger generation. Narratives of first hand experiences are passed to the second generation, which therefore interprets and perceives the genocide from the perspective of the first generation. Furthermore, trauma not only affects survivors and their families but also persons who committed crimes as they come to terms with their actions. This again, is passed to the second generation, as they have to deal with the legacies of their parents' wrongdoing.

Third, land disputes are perceived as having a significant potential for future conflict. This is due to the fact that the law, which regulates issues of inheritance, is based on a heritage system according to which descendants inherit land and property. Since many Rwandans have been displaced at various points of the country's history, they have found their family's land occupied by non-relatives, leading to conflicts over land rights. Moreover, members of the youth group we interviewed stressed that orphans and illegitimate children experience particular disadvantages. Further, reparations were of concern, in particular for survivors who stressed the importance of material compensation which is crucial in re-establishing their livelihood, but which often goes unpaid by accused persons due their own prevailing poverty.

Another area of conflict stressed by interviewees was what could best describe as "thinking in ethnic categories". Regarding ethnic thinking, however, there were differing opinions. On the one hand, ethnic thinking was mentioned as potential source of conflict by more than three quarter of the interviewees. On the other hand, some respondents did not mention thinking and acting according to ethnic categories at all.⁴⁸ Even respondents within one single partner organisation differed in their opinions in this regard. Nevertheless, it is apparent that ethnicity does play an important role for most of the respondents in our interviews. As often stated in this regard, the biggest problem was perceived to be the prohibition on mentioning or talking about ethnic groups, but at the same time thinking according to categories like Hutu and Tutsi.⁴⁹ Therefore, especially for the respondents from the youth organisations, inter-ethnic marriage was seen as a main problem for their everyday life as parents will often not allow it, and fail to understand it. Therefore, for the youth in Kigali the main hindering factor for reconciliation was ethnicity and the parents' prohibition on marrying someone from a different ethnic group. The focus group discussions in Gisenyi revealed different potentials for conflict. Here, when we asked

⁴⁸ Due to the sensitive issue of ethnicity in Rwanda, we must consider that interviewees might not have mentioned it as a pressing societal problem because of fear of sanctions. Especially in the countryside the mentioning of ethnic categories is a taboo and the fear to talk about it high.

⁴⁹ One interviewee elaborated further that financial means e.g. only go to survivors to support them in their livelihood and that the poor Hutu population is mostly marginalized in financial aspects. Another respondent said that a main problem is the perception of Tutsi being rich and educated. In this regard, another interviewee stated that there is a great gap between the former Tutsi-Diaspora (old case-load refugees) and the rest of the population as former are given jobs in ministries and other important societal and political institutions. As stressed by the interviewees who mentioned ethnicity as a root of conflict, those perceptions could lead to more open and even violent conflict in the long run.

for the most relevant conflicts at present, the youth indicated that the biggest conflicts are within the family.

Fourth, interviewees from the partner organisations stressed access to resources and power as potential key factor relating present and future conflicts. One interviewee further elaborated this point by raising the issue of the upcoming presidential elections in 2017 and questioning if the president will step down from office and who will have the chance to run as his successor.

And lastly, respondents in the partner organisations and youth groups similarly raised the issue that poverty remains an obstacle to a peaceful future, especially in rural areas. The growing gap between poor and rich people, which is most visible in Kigali in comparison to other provinces in Rwanda, was also raised.

Does the ZFD sufficiently target current conflicts?

The conflict analysis reveals three important issues that lie in the realm of ZFD engagement: trauma, land disputes and the question of ethnicity. Other factors mentioned, such as poverty, access to resources and power relations are outside of the scope of the ZFD programme and civil conflict transformation as such, but should rather be understood as part of development cooperation in general. The ZFD is only one part of German development cooperation and therefore only one actor among many in the field of conflict transformation and peace-building. It has limited resources, which should be deployed carefully and according to the situation on the ground. ***This also means that the ZFD must carefully consider the value added by its work.***

Trauma

Psycho-social trauma counselling has been a major project of the ZFD during the time of the Gacaca trials. Since 2002, the ZFD has been conducting trauma related projects, such as training in trauma counselling before and after Gacaca, the founding of female survivor groups who have children resulting from rape, and the production of a documentary, which gives testimony to the difficult situation of female genocide survivors. These projects came to an end when the German trauma expert left the country. In the interviews with beneficiaries it became obvious that these projects still have an impact on the women's lives. The ZFD has been successful in establishing a network of trauma counsellors which is still active countrywide. But, Ibuka also reported that the number of trauma counsellors has dropped dramatically in recent years.

*In view of the prevailing and ongoing trauma of genocide survivors, as well as the secondary traumatization of the next generation, **the question should be raised whether, together with organisations like Ibuka and Avega, a continuous engagement by the ZFD in trauma work would be of relevance and to what extent it can add value in comparison to other organisations active in this field.*** Furthermore, trauma is not only related to survivors of genocide, but also to perpetrators and their families and children. It became obvious in our interviews with

the trauma project beneficiaries, that children born as a result of rape is a challenging issue, not only for the affected families, but also for society widely and the reconciliation process as a whole.

Land conflicts

So far, there have not been any projects related to land conflicts as the ZFD has remained focused on youth.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, methods of conflict resolution could be applied to such conflicts in training stakeholders and multipliers. The Rwandan government partly reacted to this issue by giving the so-called Abunzi (mediation committees) greater importance.⁵¹ This traditional institution of conflict resolution can be seen as a successor of Gacaca and will have to prove its abilities to adapt to occurring conflicts in the villages, in particular regarding conflicts over land. To date, ZFD plans exist to combine trauma work with conflict resolution on the community level by training further local authorities, people of integrity, as well as to integrate Abunzi. Moreover, there are plans for cooperation with Burundian civil society organisations that have a strong expertise in methods of conflict resolution whereas the Rwandan partners, like Ibuka and Avega, have strong expertise in trauma work. By bringing these together, it is hoped that synergies can be built up. If the ZFD manages to coordinate these existing plans in collaboration with its partners⁵², this could be a great opportunity to further trauma work and at the same time to combine it with methods of conflict resolution.

We recommend considering to what extent the ZFD can add a value to the field of trauma work with its partner organisations. Moreover, we recommend engaging on the issue of peaceful resolution of land disputes by training relevant stakeholders in methods of conflict resolution and mediation.

Individual and Personal Change Level: Intermediaries and Beneficiaries

In the following, we structure our findings regarding the individual and personal change level according to the ZFD logic of intervention for intermediary outcomes and beneficiary outcomes, also referred to above as "Outcome 1" and "Outcome 2". Moreover, we separate the findings again into the different fields of activity such as methods of conflict resolution and trauma counselling in order to give an in-depth view of those fields of ZFD engagement as a whole.

⁵⁰ Land conflicts have been addressed in Radio Heza emissions as well as in theater performances at VJN, but there haven't been any projects so far e.g. in the realm of mediating land conflicts or building capacities for conflict resolution etc.

⁵¹ See further <http://www.rgb.rw/main-menu/innovation/abunzi.html>
<http://www.minijust.gov.rw/moj/mediationcommittees.aspx>

⁵² The ZFD supports the establishment of a consortium built up by NAR, Avega, Ibuka and VJN that take the lead in planning the first steps of this project.

Methods of Conflict Resolution and Peace Media: Change of Behaviour and Individual Relationships

Results: Beneficiaries (Outcome 2)

Regarding the outcome on the level of the beneficiaries, our findings rely on one focus group discussion with beneficiaries of the Radio Heza Project. Therefore, we will further describe the objectives and the activities of the radio project. In the last paragraph we briefly refer to statements by representatives of further partners concerning their perception of the achievement of objectives on the level of the beneficiaries.

Box 4: Project Heza Questions to Beneficiaries

1. What are conflicts in your personal surrounding? And, what do you perceive as conflict in your family and your community? Which of the conflicts you mentioned should be addressed?
2. Did Radio Heza address the conflicts you think are important for you (family and community)?
3. How did Radio Heza address those conflicts or societal problems?
4. What other themes should be addressed? How could the Shows be improved?
5. What did you learn by listening to Radio Heza. How did you react to conflicts/problems before and after listening to Radio Heza? Can you see a change?
6. Did your attitude and behaviour towards other people and towards the conflicts that have been addressed by Radio Heza changed?
7. Do you talk to others about what you learnt by listening to Radio Heza? And do/did you try to convince them of changing their attitude and behaviour in situations of conflict/societal problems?
8. Have things changed in your community and would you attribute those conflicts to Radio Heza? (>in how far?)

Radio Heza has been broadcasting since 2008. From mid 2007 until the end of 2009 a journal was also published but which has since been discontinued due in part to a prior evaluation in 2010. The ZFD sent its first technical assistant for peace media in 2005. In the beginning, the role of the assistant was to build up radio programming and to train staff in conflict sensitive journalism, peace education and youth empowerment. In addition, the GTZ financed material, technical equipment and the production costs for the radio broadcasting. To date, Radio Heza has been on air weekly through Voice of America (VoA) and can also be heard in Burundi. The broadcasts reach a potential audience of ca. 700,000 people throughout Rwanda. On a general note, as the illiteracy rate is very high in Rwanda, radio is the most important and often used instrument of information dissemination.

The overall aim of Radio Heza is to foster the reconciliation process in Rwanda as stated in its objectives. Therefore, it can be regarded as being in alignment with PWL. By the trainings in peace media and the broadcasting of the shows the projects combines a 'key people approach' with a 'more key people approach'. The objectives of Radio Heza can be assigned to an individual and socio-political level as, on the one hand, it aims to change behaviour and attitudes, and on the other, it strives to impact on public opinion and awareness of societal problems or conflicts.

Box 5: Heza Objectives and Activities

| General Objectives | Detailed objectives (for e.g.) | Selected Activities |
|---|--|---|
| To promote youth in participating in the peace process | To deconstruct prejudices To foster reconciliation To promote youth activities for peace To educate youth in the field of conflict resolution | Weekly Radio Shows on <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prejudices • Gender based violence • Inter-ethnic marriage Common trainings with Burundian and Congolese journalists and conducting a pilot project with a common production of emissions |
| To promote youth in taking part in the development of Rwandan society | To foster freedom of expression and an open culture of dialogue To encourage critical thinking To deepen knowledge of societal processes | To take youths all over the country as resource persons for the production of journalistic elements . |
| To promote youth in all relevant dimensions | To support youth in their talents and creativity | Participation of youth in The development of the project, The planning The evaluation of each show (e.g. planning of shows, production of journalistic elements) |

In sum, our interviews revealed that Radio Heza has a particularly strong impact on the individual level, such as on attitudes and behaviour. It was stressed in the focus group discussions that beneficiaries developed an understanding and a sense for

conflicts through listening to Radio Heza. One interviewee mentioned that he was also able to understand conflicts in a way that he had not before. In the discussion, the interviewees also stressed the point that by listening to Radio Heza, they have developed a constructive attitude towards conflictive situations and are thus now able to respond in a more positive way. Interestingly, the interviewees emphasized that they themselves promote a change of behaviour in their immediate social environment.⁵³ They reasoned that the way they now respond to conflicts encourages community members to reflect on their own way of responding. Thus, knowledge gained through listening to the radio is further transported into the immediate context of family, friends and neighbours. One interviewee stated that Radio Heza can help to reduce conflicts in the neighbourhood, though, he was not able to further explain how and why this could be the case. Nevertheless, the discussions revealed that the beneficiaries felt overwhelmingly that they could transport their acquired knowledge into their immediate societal environment. *Thus, it can be stated that the broadcasts are able to induce reflections on current societal conflicts or problems.*

We also asked the staff of the partner organisations how they evaluate the impact of their projects on the beneficiaries. All interviewees replied that their project objectives were reached, although this was in all cases only elaborated in vague terms. Most of the interviewees agreed that their projects specifically target changes of behaviour and the attitudes of the individual in order to reach the entire target group. One representative added that their projects open up spaces for critical discussion. Another interviewee measured the project outcome against the fact that their activities led to the foundation of student debating clubs. It was also reported that beneficiaries take on initiatives in the context of the projects, which was seen as indicator for the achievement of the set objectives.

Against the backdrop of these positive results we recommend the strengthening of peace media as instrument of conflict transformation and to conduct a large N-Study in order to learn more about the impact on the individual level.

Results: Intermediaries (Outcome 1)

For our findings regarding the outcome on the level of the intermediaries, we have relied on focus group discussions conducted with the intermediaries of MJK and VJN. The interviewees of both groups are involved in different project activities with their organisations such as (radio plays and) theatre, Football for Peace or Radio Heza. Therefore, we did not aim to analyse the impact of each project but rather at gaining insight into the "Outcome 1" level as presented in the ZFD intervention logic diagram. As mentioned above, the intermediaries are central for ZFD interventions and function as the driving force behind the given objectives. Depending on the project they work for, the intermediaries are trained in specific skills that combine peace and human rights education with the technical knowledge to implement the project activities. Intermediaries working for the radio plays at the VJN, for instance, receive training in journalism with a special focus on radio plays, and the Football for Peace

⁵³ Similar results were also revealed by a prior evaluation of Radio Heza in 2011.

intermediaries are trained in sports instruction, while both groups are trained in methods of conflict resolution. The theatre group intermediaries also travel to rural areas to speak with the communities about their current conflicts and social issues. These collected stories form the basis of the theatre narratives which they then perform.

Our interviewees argued that their training had a strong impact on the individual level, especially regarding skills, attitudes and behaviour and thus made a valuable contribution to building capacities for peace. Interviewees from both group discussions stated that the trainings helped them to further develop the administrative skills relevant to their daily work (e.g. the annual MJK reports are co-written by intermediaries). An intermediary from a theatre group stressed that she gained public speaking skills which improved her general communication skills. This was also acknowledged by other members of the focus group discussions. Another interviewee mentioned that he learnt how to say sorry in the trainings. Furthermore, not only communication skills, but also societal skills were learnt in the trainings and during the project activities. One girl stressed the point that she learnt to accept that people are different from one another and that she was more patient with other people. Another interviewee mentioned that he had learnt that different opinions do not hinder friendships. Intermediaries from Gisenyi also highlighted they were able to discover similarities with foreigners, specifically with the Congolese. Regarding methods of conflict resolution, the first step they reached through the trainings was the “recognition of conflicts as conflicts” as the interviewees put it. They further stated that they were able to translate their knowledge of conflicts and their resolution into their projects. They also said that they reacted differently to conflicts in their immediate social context, similarly to the interviewed beneficiaries. Thus, regarding attitudes and behaviour the intermediaries reported positive changes due to training and their project activities. These changes concerned the attitude towards other people and their problems as well as changes concerning their own behaviour towards conflicts within their families or communities.

As the ZFD appears to have a significant impact on the skills and attitudes of intermediaries, we strongly recommend extending this strategy.

In spite of these positive responses, our interviewees also stressed some factors which hinder the successful implementation of their work. First, it was argued that there are systemic or structural obstacles. For example, some of the Heza project broadcasts were not aired by VOA due to a poor standard of quality. Second, some factors on the individual level were mentioned. The theatre group reported that it is very difficult for them to continue playing the role of a third-party and mediate between disputing persons. They stressed that it is often challenging for them to decide who tells the “truth”, which creates difficulties in developing the “right” perspective for their story and to put it in the context of conflict resolution. It was also stressed that it is often difficult for them to listen to the personal stories of other people as they might involve very intimate details or are related to violence, fear and distrust.

We therefore recommend introducing regular supervision for the intermediaries and accompanying them more closely in their work.

To sum up, ZFD interventions have had a very strong impact on this level (see Table 1). The ZFD tool of training intermediaries allows for a change of behaviour and attitude. The awareness of conflicts is strengthened and existing conflicts can be addressed in a non-violent way. Furthermore, the training of intermediaries allows for the application of methods of conflict resolution within single projects. These skills are transferred to the beneficiaries of these projects. Regarding their impact, the focus group discussions revealed a positive impact on the individual level as well.

Trauma Counselling: Healing and Perceptions

The following findings rely on two interviews with Ibuka staff and a former ZFD technical assistant, and on one focus group discussion whose participants were composed of intermediaries and beneficiaries. Two of the women in this group work at the partner organisations and others had been trained as trauma counselling assistants. Therefore, here we do not follow the approach of differentiating between the two different outcome levels, but rather aim at shedding light on the whole field of ZFD trauma work. Neither did we differentiate in detail between the single projects. The participants of the group were chosen by Ibuka and Kanyarwanda. Most of the women had taken part in all of the mentioned projects and were representatives of their regional self-help groups.

We first describe the objectives of the ZFD intervention in the trauma field. Second, we present the findings revealed by the focus group discussion and the two interviews with the relevant ZFD and Ibuka staff members. The box below shows the questions we asked during the focus group discussion.

Box 6: Questionnaire Focus Group Discussion in the Field of Trauma⁵⁴

1. Please describe the project from your perspective.
2. To which point did the project help you to deal with prevailing problems (giving testimony at Gacaca, daily life activities in community, trauma breakdowns, socioeconomic well being, establishing of self-help groups etc.)?
3. What do you think was problematic about the project? (>hindering factors)
4. Did the project help you in daily interaction with perpetrators or their families? (>project objectives)
5. In how far do you think the project helped to reconcile perpetrators and survivors? To what extent, if at all? (>overall objective>desired impact)
6. In how far do you still benefit from the project? In which regard? (>sustainability)
7. Can you still use the help of trauma workers? Are there any problems to reach this supply? (>sustainability> long-term and structural supply of trauma counseling)
8. Where do you see a need for intervention from ZFD/Ibuka (Kanyarwanda) for the current conflict situation/for your situation? (>future intervention, changing conflict environment)

As already described, trauma work was been a major field of intervention for the ZFD until 2008. One objective of the early ZFD engagement was the rehabilitation and reintegration of genocide affected persons with special regard to women. There were three central projects in this field which aimed at strengthening the self-help potential for genocide survivors, enabling sustainable structures of psycho-social trauma counselling as well as improving the socio-economic well-being of genocide survivors. Related to this , trauma counselling was regarded as one step towards reconciliation in Rwanda. With regard to the RPP Matrix, the projects in the trauma field aimed at combining a 'more people approach' with the 'individual/personal change level', which should add up to PWL (reconciliation) in the long-term. Therefore, the projects were specifically designed to target healing and perceptions of the beneficiaries.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Red marked questions could not be asked at all due to the risk of re-traumatisation, see further methodology. The other questions were mostly re-framed and simplified. (e.g.: did the project help you? How did it help you?).

⁵⁵ Though funding proposals and annual reports do not use the RPP Matrix until 2010, we refer to the Matrix to allow for a better classification of project activities and outcomes. At the same time, we must be aware, that though the trauma projects' activities aim at the broader level of reconciliation (as formulated in ZFD documents), it targets most the individual level and reaches into the broader people approach only when reaching persons in different regions and on different levels. As we could not ask the questions related to reconciliation (which was the overall objective of the projects) we cannot draw any conclusions on this broader level.

Box 7: Overview Projects in the field of Trauma intervention

| Project | Activities | Target Group | Objective/Outcome |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Carvitore (Centre of Rehabilitation for Victims of Torture and Repression)</i> | <i>Providing Legal and Financial Assistance / Counselling for genocide affected women</i> | <i>Rape affected women and widows</i> | <i>Strengthening self-help potential</i> |
| <i>Gacaca Trauma Counselling</i> | <i>Training of trauma counsellors and trauma assistants</i> | <i>Genocide survivors</i> | <i>Building sustainable structures of trauma counselling</i> <i>Booklet: "Gacaca and Trauma"</i> |
| <i>Forum des Femmes</i> | <i>Founding of self-help groups</i> | <i>Women with rape children</i> | <i>Documentary: "Children of War" (and see above)</i> |

Findings

In the following, our findings shall be structured according to the questions on healing and perception as given in the RPP Matrix. During the focus group discussion it was apparent that the interviewees were able to draw strong comparisons to the time before the projects, which allows for strong data validity.

It became obvious that the ZFD projects in the field of trauma intervention were sustainable and had a strong impact on the individual and personal level of beneficiaries. With guidance from the project, self-help groups were established where women could speak about and advocate for their problems. It was mainly through these group meetings⁵⁶ that women learnt about trauma and its consequences and they came to realise that they were not alone with their feelings and their daily problems. One woman stressed that she experienced great difficulties after the genocide as she felt she could neither bear nor deal with what she had experienced. In the meetings, she learnt how to cope with what had been done to her and was able to overcome a feeling of helplessness.

The strongest emphasis of the interviewees was laid on the children who were born from rape. In this regard, the project helped the mothers to accept the child as their own. One interviewee stated that she had not been able to love her child and had even beaten it. Another woman said she often felt that the child was responsible for what had happened to her. During and after the project those women learnt to "accept the truth" as one woman phrased it. Another woman explained that the project helped her to speak with her daughter about her feelings, regarding the circumstances of her birth.

⁵⁶ In the meetings the women were also taught about the history of the genocide.

Furthermore, the women stressed that the Gacaca trauma counselling helped them to stand face to face with the accused persons and enabled them to give testimony without facing a psychological breakdown. Also, as stated by former ZFD staff, women were put into the active “speaker role” and thus experienced a shift in roles from a passive humiliated object into a person superior to the perpetrator.

Concerning women’s perceptions, it was revealed that training and meetings helped to transform negative perceptions towards perpetrators and their children of rape into positive or at least neutral ones. Furthermore, one woman stressed that before the project, she regarded all male members of the other ethnic group as killers. This had changed afterwards and her negative feelings were then only related to the men who raped her and killed her family.

On an individual and personal level, perceptions changed as the beneficiaries of the projects gained more knowledge of how to cope with traumatic events which enabled them to “learn to live” as one woman put it. Also, it was expressed in the interviews that the perception of oneself within society changed positively due to the training and helped participants to accept themselves as human beings.

On a more negative note, many interviewees suggested that rape victims are still stigmatized in society⁵⁷ and some of the women did not tell their families about what happened to them. As a consequence of rape, many women have had difficulty getting married. In this context it was also mentioned that giving testimony at Gacaca led to divorces as husbands would not accept the fact that their wives had been raped (i.e., in cases where women had not told their husbands about their experience).

Nevertheless, there was some consensus that from an overall perspective the projects conducted by the ZFD and the work of the trauma experts had a sustainable impact on the target group. Some interviewees stressed that they still profit very much from what they learnt in the training and group meetings. The knowledge acquired enables them to cope with their violent histories and speak about their painful memories with other affected persons. Thus, the self-help potential was strengthened in a sustainable manner. More generally, the project created a space for speaking about and sharing difficult memories in an environment built on trust.

Regarding the need for further trauma counselling, it is difficult to draw a final conclusion. When we asked about future requirements, the need of trauma counselling was raised but only in a general manner. Problems related to the genocide—such as the stigmatization of raped women and girls, and especially the stigmatization of children born after rape—were specifically highlighted. Regarding the latter, the women also referred to their difficulty in explaining to their children how they were conceived, which might also bring certain disadvantages for the children.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ They stressed the point that many women who were very young during the genocide do not tell about the rapes.

⁵⁸ E.g. children of rape are not considered by the survivors fund and they do not have any land rights. So far, there don’t exist figures on how many of those children live in Rwanda.

We therefore recommend to continue building on the projects' successes, in particular against the backdrop of the prevalent and ongoing high level of trauma. But it is also recommended to further address the stigmatization of rape and to draw attention to the diverse problems related to the children of rape. This can be done via the diverse tools of peace education like educational films, theatre and radio.

Socio-political change

Due to the limited scope of the study, all the findings in this evaluation are necessarily incomplete such that assumptions regarding the impact of the individual on the socio-political level can only be drawn tentatively. This challenge was discussed during interviews with representatives of the partner organisations. One interviewee indicated that changes on this level cannot be measured by figures or objective criteria as it would be too complex to develop indicators. On a general note, evaluations are always confronted with an allocation gap as it is very difficult to trace back changes on the socio-political level to single projects. Thus it is difficult to measure, not only for the societal level but in particular for the wider level of peace and reconciliation, to what extent single projects "add up" to societal change and peace (see also the next section). Nevertheless, the RPP Matrix makes possible the attempt to trace back societal changes.

In the logic of the RPP Matrix and chains of impact, changes on the individual level lead to changes on the socio-political level. Given the immense outreach of Radio Heza, it can, for instance, be assumed that the broadcasts have a noticeable effect on public opinion on the socio-political level and potentially on a change of opinions on a national scale.⁵⁹ Another contribution of the ZFD intervention is that radio theatre audiences gain knowledge of methods in conflict resolution. Also, in the field of trauma work it appears to be the case that the beneficiaries have learnt a great deal about trauma and how to deal with it. Thus, the individual projects can raise awareness of societal problems and induce critical reflections on what might be "right or wrong" in a given context. Such changes can function as entry points for conflict transformation. For example, raising awareness about the situation of children born out of rape could lead in turn to initiatives to tackle this issue.

During the focus group discussions with the intermediaries, we also asked their opinion on the extent to which project activities had an impact on the wider social level. All interviewees assumed that their projects lead to attitudinal and behavioural changes amongst the beneficiaries, in particular, and the society more generally. Nevertheless, they were not able to trace back those perceived changes and also admitted that they could not demonstrate if there are any changes regarding attitude or behaviour in general. Impact could be noticed only with regard to the anecdotal evidence they encountered. One interviewee told us that the broadcast of an interview with a girl whose father was a perpetrator and who wanted to marry a son

⁵⁹ In order to further research on this project objective a systematic survey of listeners would be necessary not only through the email correspondents of Radio Heza, but also through enquiries in the urban and rural areas.

of a genocide survivor led in turn to the foundation of a school club against genocide ideology in the Kigali suburb where the girl lived.

More generally, members of the theatre group suggested that knowledge of methods of conflict resolution is transferred to the target group as the participative method of the theatre allows the audience to engage in discussions about the conflicts and their solutions as they are performed. At best, therefore, it can be stated that the project activities open up spaces for discussion and reflection on prevailing societal issues. If, and how, those critical reflections have an impact on agency, cannot be determined through this study.

Regarding sustainable changes, the strongest insights can be drawn for the trauma project as we were able to assess the long-term contribution of the projects. As one representative of the partner organisations emphasized, the ZFD has tremendously contributed to the establishment of the field of psycho-social trauma counselling.⁶⁰ Insofar as it is possible to determine, it can be assumed that the training of trauma counsellors led to the creation of sustainable structures in this field which continue to function across the country. Furthermore, the self-help groups in most of the regions still meet regularly. If structural change is also understood as enabling structures or spaces, all the ZFD projects make a contribution here as they foster structures of dialogue and critical thinking.

⁶⁰ The ZFD indeed played a very big role in trauma counseling, but did not establish this field as such, as reported by interviewees.

Peace and Reconciliation in the Great Lakes Region

In the ToR we were asked to find out to what extent the ZFD contributes to peace and reconciliation, which is an aim formulated in its internal documents. Against this backdrop, we asked the representatives of the partners to what extent the ZFD addresses major conflicts and to what extent it targets the key factors driving conflicts. Those questions are shown in detail in the box below.

Box 8: Impact on Meso- and Macro-Level

1. Does the current CPS/ZFD programme address major conflicts sufficiently? (*see conflict analysis*)
2. Do the CPS/ZFD programmes target the key driving factors of these conflicts? (*equal to "peace", see OECD/DAC guidelines*)
3. In your perspective, does the ZFD programme adapt to changing conflict contexts?
4. Does the CPS/ZFD reinforce peace-building-initiatives by civil society sufficiently? Are there any blind spots the CPS/ZFD should target in the future?
5. Does the CPS/ZFD programme reinforce reconciliation?
6. How could impact be reinforced and what conditions are necessary therefore?

As stated in the ZFDs standards in 2008, as well as in various other documents, the overall objective of the ZFD Rwanda is PWL in order to enhance peace and reconciliation on a national as well as on a regional level (Great Lakes Region). It is, however, difficult to analyse the impact on the latter. This is due to a lack of indicators in the ZFD programme design for measuring peace and reconciliation. Clearly, it remains difficult to define abstract ideas such as peace and reconciliation. Furthermore, it has to be asked on which level such an outcome would be desired. As a consequence, "before and after" scenarios cannot be adequately observed, which makes it difficult to draw conclusions in relation to these questions.

This was also apparent during the workshop on lessons learned, where neither the partner organisations nor the ZFD staff agreed on a definition for reconciliation or peace. In several interviews the question was also raised if reconciliation is actually the aim of these activities or whether the term "co-existence" would be more suitable for the Rwandan context. However, it is important to reach a common understanding of such terms in order to fulfil the objectives as stated. If people do not agree on a carefully defined common goal, the question remains whether this has a negative effect on outcomes.

Moreover, as was explained before, social change is difficult to measure, which makes the development of indicators even more relevant. ***It should also take into account how the individual projects possibly "add up" to peace.*** In the specific case of conflict transformation (in contrast to more technical measures such as DDR

or SSR) such a process is not linear and it remains uncertain if the desired goal can ultimately be reached. More concretely, in our interviews the respondents were not able to specifically trace back an improvement in the status of peace and reconciliation resulting from ZFD intervention, though it was frequently recounted that there have been some recent improvements. One interviewee put it more concretely by stating, "reconciliation is fostered as the ZFD makes people meet from adversary groups and promotes critical thinking among the youth." Another interviewee answered the question (5) by saying that people gain awareness for conflicts. A representative of the partner organisation put it more precisely by saying that the ZFD brings together the ethnic groups by working together with different partner organisations.

Regarding the cross-border level, first steps have been undertaken by widening the scope of the Radio Heza Programme to Burundi, by increasing collaboration of the VJN with Congolese peace and human rights organisations (e.g. the peace week) and by propagating the tools of conflict resolution from the MJK to partners in Burundi, DRC and Uganda. By conducting shared workshops and events, the understanding of each other and related problems and conflicts can be improved and prevailing prejudices reduced. Also, the different strategies of coming to terms with a violent past can induce a learning process on all sides (Rwandan, Burundian, Ugandan and Congolese). Thus, even if the impact of ZFD programmes on peace and reconciliation cannot be quantitatively measured it can be at least assumed that in the long term individual changes of behaviour and attitude "add up" to peace in various ways.

We strongly recommend developing clear indicators for peace and reconciliation if the ZFD seeks to learn how and to what extent the ZFD contributes to them. Moreover, we recommend discussing the different understandings of peace and reconciliation with partners to develop a shared understanding and joint objectives.

Conclusion and Recommendations

To repeat the main findings of this evaluation, ***the ZFD work is highly relevant in the field of peace-building in Rwanda.*** The strategy of sending technical assistants into the partner organisation proves to be highly effective and is very much respected and appreciated by the partners themselves. The analysis also revealed that the ZFD has a strong impact on the individual level, on attitudes, perception and skills. In this regard, the role of the intermediaries proves to add to a deepened knowledge of conflicts, which is transferred to the beneficiaries of the projects. Against this backdrop, the ZFD also manages to build up strong capacities for peace within its partner organisations. Nevertheless, shortcomings exist in structural capacities in the partner organisations. Improvements have been made with regard to project and budget planning. As the scope of this study is limited, we cannot draw final conclusions on the wider impact of the ZFD programme. It remains to be analysed exactly how ZFD programmes "add up" to peace and reconciliation over the long term. Moreover, a joint understanding of peace and reconciliation is lacking within the ZFD and among the staff of partner organisations which might hinder outcomes in relation to future objectives. On a more general note, it can nevertheless be assumed that the single projects, especially the Radio programmes due to their immense outreach and influence, nonetheless foster peaceful behaviour and open up spaces for reconciliation initiatives.

Against this backdrop we have the following general recommendations:

Impact on Wider Societal Level

- i. We strongly recommend developing clear indicators for peace and reconciliation in order to learn how, and to what extent, the ZFD contributes to them.
- ii. Moreover, we recommend discussing the divergent understandings of peace and reconciliation with the partners to develop a joint objective.
- iii. Social change is difficult to measure, which makes the development of indicators even more relevant. Therefore we recommend clarifying how individual projects lead to peace.

Individual Level

- i. As the ZFD proves to significantly influence intermediaries' skills and attitudes, we strongly recommend extending this strategy of training intermediaries.
- ii. To allow for a sustainable impact on the intermediaries, we recommend introducing regular supervision for the intermediaries and accompanying them more closely in their work.
- iii. We recommend strengthening peace media as instrument of conflict transformation and to conduct a large N-Study in order to learn more about the impact on the individual level.

Sustainability

- i. We recommend continuing to build on the success of the trauma projects, in particular against the backdrop of the projects' sustainability and the ongoing high level of trauma today. It is also recommended to further address the stigmatization of rape and to draw attention to the diverse problems related to the children of rape. This can be done via the diverse tools of peace education such as educational film, theatre and radio.
- ii. We recommend discussing in to what extent the ZFD can add value to the field of trauma work with its partner organisations.
- iii. Moreover, we recommend engaging in the peaceful resolution of land disputes by training relevant stakeholders / multipliers in methods of conflict resolution and mediation.
- iv. In order to guarantee impact as well as sustainability it is important to commit to continuously work in a sector, in particular, as developing social change is a very long process. It is thus recommended that the ZFD adhere to its new strategy (2010) and guarantees that the projects are carried out over the long-term.
- v. On a more general note, the ZFD must carefully consider the value added by its work due to limited resources and the feasibility of its work.

ZFD and Capacities

- i. Since the strategy of sending technical assistants into partner organisations proves to be effective, we strongly recommend continuing with this strategy.

- ii. It is recommended that knowledge of monitoring tools is strengthened in the partner organisations. It is further recommended that the strategy of building capacity for peace and training in methods of conflict resolution be continued.

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Appendix

Questionnaires

Questionnaire Partner organisations

A - Conflict Analysis

- 1) How would you describe the development of past and present conflicts in Rwanda?
- 2) In how far have conflicts changed over the last 10 years?
- 3) Did specific events/policies in the field of dealing with the past and/or peace-building initiatives (e.x. the Gacaca-Proceedings) impact on the (mentioned) change of conflicts?
 - a) What exactly has changed since?
 - b) How would you describe these changes?
- 4) From your perspective, what are major conflicts on which levels at the present time?
- 5) What are the driving factors and actors of these conflicts?
- 6) What are future challenges for conflict transformation/peace-building?
- 7) Do you know any areas, related to the above mentioned arising or prevailing conflicts that should be targeted explicitly by donors /CPS/ZFD?

B - CPS/ZFD – Capacity Building within partner organisations

- 1) Please describe first of all the work with CPS/ZFD from your perspective
- 2) How did the work with the CPS/ZFD start? Did you request working with the CPS?
- 3) Why did your organisation decide to work with the CPS/ZFD and why in these specific sector?
- 4) Have any changes occurred in your organisation that you would attribute to the work with CPS/ZFD?
- 5) What changes in your organisation are specifically related to the work of CPS/ZFD from your perspective?
- 6) How would you describe the impact the CPS/ZFD work has/had in your organisation?
- 7) How could the impact be reinforced and what conditions are necessary therefore?
- 8) What are the most successful experiences made and what difficulties did you face while working with the CPS/ZFD?

- 9) How do you and how did you perceive the CPS/ZFD as donor? Has your perception changed over time? (If yes, in how far and why?)
- 10) In how far is the instrument of sending a CPS/ZFD expert into partner organisation more efficient and relevant than other peace-building instruments applied by additional donors?
- 11) Are there any further fields of engagement you think working with the CPS/ZFD should be reinforced? (>why)

C - CPS/ZFD – Impact on target group within project design and defined outcome/goal

- 1) In how far does the work with the CPS/ZFD impact on the target group?
- 2) Have desired objectives and results been achieved? If yes or no, what are the main reasons?
- 3) How does your organisation assess the needs for peace-building in the country?
- 4) Have there been any impact assessments prior to this evaluation?
- 5) Please estimate in how far the projects conducted with CPS/ZFD have been/are sustainable and against what factors you would measure this outcome? (depends on what has been said by interviewee before)
- 6) Can the impact on the target group be divided into short- and long-term effects? How would you describe differences?
- 7) Did you work further within the project after the CPS/ZFD expert left the organisation? In how far did the work change after leaving?

D - CPS/ZFD – Impact on conflict related issues (macro or meso level)

- 1) Does the current CPS/ZFD programme address major conflicts sufficiently? (*see conflict analysis*)
- 2) Do the CPS/ZFD programmes target the key driving factors of these conflicts? (*equal to “peace”, see OECD/DAC guidelines*)
- 3) In your perspective, does the ZFD programme adapt to changing conflict contexts?
- 4) Does the CPS/ZFD reinforce peace-building-initiatives by civil society sufficiently? Are there any blind spots the CPS/ZFD should target in the future?
- 5) Does the CPS/ZFD programme reinforce reconciliation?
- 6) What makes /or is the CPS/ZFD a special donor in the field of peace-building compared to other donors?
- 7) How could impact be reinforced and what conditions are necessary therefore?

Fragenkatalog ZFD Friedensfachkräfte

A: Hintergrund der Fachkraft

- 1) Welche berufliche und fachliche Ausrichtung hast Du?
- 2) Wie lief Dein Bewerbungsprozess ab? Hattest Du das Gefühl, dass es mehr aus Bonn oder Kigali geleitet war? Inwiefern hatte die Partnerorganisation Mitbestimmungsrecht?
- 3) Wie wurdest du in der V-EZ vorbereitet? Inwiefern konntest du ein Gefühl für das Land und aktuelle Konfliktdynamiken im Vorfeld deiner Entsendung entwickeln?
- 4) Inwiefern informierst du dich bzw. mit welchem Material über aktuelle Entwicklungen (auch bezüglich Konfliktslagen oder Menschenrechtsverletzungen)?

B: Projektentwicklung

- 5) Bitte beschreibe den Prozess, wie ihr spezifische Projekte entwickelt. Inwiefern gibt es ein Baseline assessment bzw. need assessment im Vorfeld?
- 6) Wie werden die Partnerorganisationen ermittelt? Inwieweit gibt es hierbei ein regelmäßiges Assessment der Zivilgesellschaft und deren Schwächen und Stärken?
- 7) Welche Methodik benutzt ihr bei der Projektentwicklung? Inwiefern bezieht ihr Fragen von Effektivität in der Projektlogik mit ein? (z.B. *Reflecting on Peace Practices von Collaborative Learning Projects*)
- 8) Wie definiert ihr outcome und results? Welche Überlegungen spielen dabei eine Rolle bzw. werden Indikatoren für Erfolg entwickelt? (z.B. *performance indicators of change*)
- 9) Wie wird Nachhaltigkeit / Sustainability in der Anfangsphase von Projekten mitbedacht?
- 10) Inwieweit gibt es regelmäßiges Monitoring und inwieweit findet eine Adaption in der Projektplanung und –umsetzung an Ergebnisse statt?

C: Zusammenhänge innerhalb ZFD

- 11) Inwieweit werden „do no harm“-Analysen durchgeführt, bzw. findet ein Austausch darüber innerhalb des ZFD-Team statt?
- 12) Inwieweit wirst du vom ZFD/ der GIZ über aktuelles Geschehen informiert und in Abläufe involviert?
- 13) Wie häufig gibt es Rücksprachen mit dem ZFD (Rücksprachen mit Koordination im Land, bzw. Zentrale in Bonn)?

- 14) Inwiefern gibt es regelmäßige Abstimmungen im Team über die inhaltliche und strategische Ausrichtung vom ZFD?
- 15) Wird innerhalb des Teams über Positionierungen diskutiert, bzw. Raum gegeben, um eigene Meinungen zu vertreten und daraus eine gemeinsame Positionierung gegenüber aktuellen und/oder generellen Prozessen/Strukturen zu entwickeln? Ist dies deiner Meinung nach notwendig für die ZFD Arbeit?
- 16) Wie würdest du das Profil des ZFDs beschreiben?

D: Projektpartner

- 17) Bitte beschreibe die Zusammenarbeit mit der PO aus deiner Sicht und deine genauen Aufgaben als Fachkraft in der PO.
- 18) Bitte beschreibe die Projekte, die implementiert wurden im Detail, einschließlich vordefinierter Erfolgskriterien (sofern vorhanden)?
- 19) Wie kann sicher gestellt werden, dass die Expertise der Fachkraft nicht dominant gegenüber lokalen Kapazitäten wirkt und diese heruntergestuft werden?
- 20) Welche allgemeinen Erfahrungen bezüglich Nachhaltigkeit wurden gemacht als die Fachkraft das Projekt verlassen hat? (*Frage für Rückkehrer bzw. Koordinator*)
- 21) Was sind die größten Erfolge und was die größten Schwierigkeiten, mit denen du in der Zusammenarbeit konfrontiert bist/warst?
- 22) Was sind die größten Hindernisse im Prozess von der Projektplanung bis hin zu der Projektimplementierung?
- 23) Wie schätzt du den Erfolg implementierter Projekte ein und anhand welcher Faktoren würdest du diesen messen? (> indicators of success)
- 24) Wie kann (erzielte) Veränderung beschrieben werden? Würdest du diese eher auf einer individuellen oder sozial-gesellschaftlichen Ebene verorten?

E: Allgemeines - Konfliktanalyse und Arbeit des ZFD

Was sind deiner Meinung nach die dringendsten Konflikte in Rwanda? Auf welchen Ebenen würdest du diese ansiedeln?

Inwiefern reagiert der ZFD deiner Meinung nach angemessen auf die aktuelle Konfliktlage?

Trägt der ZFD deiner Meinung nach zur Versöhnung in Ruanda bei? (>Ebenen)

Wie könnte die Wirkung des ZFD Programms verbessert werden und welche Bedingungen wären dafür notwendig?

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